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PROVIDENCE, R.I.
JOURNAL

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MAR 2 1965

Extremist Talk

Jesse Gray, Harlem rent-strike leader, has blamed Malcolm X's murder on the white power structure and "the CIA."

Police have charged a man they identify as a Black Muslim "enforcer" in connection with the slaying. Will this cause Mr. Gray to withhold judgment until the jury is in? Not one whit!

Mr. Gray is a victim of the dogmatic, conspiratorial interpretation of events which marks all political extremists. It matters not what fresh evidence is brought before their eyes. Their expressions and actions are guided entirely by their internal thrashings over the Devil they have concocted.

This was the same Mr. Gray who helped fan the flames of the Harlem riots last summer by calling for "100 skilled black revolutionaries who are ready to die. There is only one thing that can correct this situation and that's guerrilla warfare."

Mr. Gray usefully drew attention to the deplorable conditions that exist in many Harlem tenements. It is unfortunate that he has cast his lot with the extremist fringe.

He may exert little influence in Harlem in terms of numbers. But that he has any political pull at all is a sign that Harlem has been separated from the rest of New York City for too long a time.

FEBRUARY 25, 1965

MALCOLM X ASSASSINATION PROTESTS--The AATUF accused American imperialists of the assassination of Malcolm X. A communique signed by AATUF Secretary General John Tettegah states: Through their deliberate and dastardly act, American imperialists have deprived Africa and the world of a sincere comrade whose name will go down in history and thus show the African's determination to survive. (Bamako Mali Domestic 0700 GMT 24 February 1965--N) Delegates of nine African nationalist parties in a joint statement signed in Cairo condemned the brutal assassination of the American Negro leader Malcolm X by the U.S. imperialists. The nine parties signing the statement are: The Basutoland Congress Party, the Bechuanaland People's Party, the Swaziland Progressive Party, the South-West African National Union, the People's Organization, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Mozambique National Democratic Union, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union. (Peking NCNA English 0226 GMT 25 February 1965--W) "Being defeated everywhere in the world, the U.S. imperialists are resorting to more desperate means of slaughter and murder," said Shirley Graham Dubois, wife of the well-known late Negro scholar, Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, commenting on the assassination of the Afro-American leader Malcolm X. A statement issued by Julian Mayfield, Afro-American novelist who lives and works in Ghana, pointed out that "the assassination of Malcolm X bears all the markings of a Central Intelligence Agency execution. There can be no room for doubt as to why Malcolm X had to be killed. The moral of this murder is that we must never underestimate the ruthlessness and brutality of American capitalism." (Peking NCNA English 1553 GMT 24 February 1965--W)

E. 373,849

EEB 25 1965

Probe Red Dope Tie To Malcolm Murder

By PAUL MESKIL
Of the World-Telegram Staff

Investigators are checking reports that Malcolm X was murdered not by Black Muslims but by persons who thought he knew too much about a Harlem dope racket with supply lines stretching to Cuba and Red China.

Sources close to the murder inquiry disclosed Malcolm was "furious" when he learned his Black Nationalist group, also called the Organization of Afro-American Unity, had been infiltrated by pro-Peking fanatics who were peddling dope to Harlem addicts.

Himself a former narcotics peddler and addict, Malcolm kicked the habit while in prison. Later, as a Black Muslim leader, he waged war on the vicious racket. With the zeal of a reformed drunk, he exhorted his followers to stay away from narcotics.

James Farmer, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality, has called for a federal probe of Malcolm's murder, which he called "a political killing with international implications."

Farmer is convinced the gunmen who executed Malcolm before 400 horrified spectators in the Audubon Ballroom last Sunday were not Black Muslims. Nor does he believe Malcolm's henchmen hurled the fire bombs that destroyed Black Muslim headquarters in Harlem early Tuesday.

Both these incidents, Farmer believes, were designed to cover up a much more sinister plot.

While declining to name those he believes were responsible for the murder, Farmer pointed out that Malcolm had been deeply involved in fighting the Harlem drug traffic.

Asked if he was aware that left-wing extremists have been peddling dope to finance their revolutionary activities, Farmer replied: "I've heard such reports. I think all angles should be looked at."

From other sources, the World-Telegram learned that Red China has been shipping heroin, cocaine and other narcotics to Cuba for transshipment to the United States and Latin America. Smuggled into this country via Canada and Mexico, the dope has become the major revenue source of at least one Harlem-based extremist group.

Leaders of this group and other far-left organizations supporting Cuba and China conferred with Malcolm X on several occasions after he bolted the Black Muslims a year ago to form his own Negro nationalist outfit.

According to a reliable report under investigation by both the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency, the Reds paid at least part of the tab for Malcolm's tours of Africa, Europe and the Middle East.

Change of Attitude

The plan apparently was to use him as a tool to exploit race problems in the U.S. and as a propaganda weapon against America. But Malcolm's fanatic hatred of whites modified considerably in the last six months.

He spoke with affection of the white-skinned Moslems he met on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He gave friendly interviews to white newsmen and began devoting much of his time to public appearances and speeches before white audiences.

Convinced that his usefulness was over, the Harlem anarchists—and their bosses in Havana and Peking—decided to take over his loosely knit organization.

Plans Exposure

Malcolm's top lieutenants had been aware of the Red infiltrators for some time. They tried to warn Malcolm but he was too busy fulfilling his new role as a globetrotter and public speaker. When he finally realized his leadership was being sabotaged by Reds who were also narcotics racketeers, he decided to expose them.

Investigators believe he might have planned to name the Red racketeers at the rally where he was shot down.

The Red-run narcotics trade in Harlem has become a serious threat to the underworld dope business run by Cosa Nostra gangsters. Recent raids by narcotics detectives and federal agents crippled the Cosa Nostra operation and forced many addicts to turn to Communists for their shots.

There are several pro-Cuba and pro-China groups in Harlem including the Progressive Labor Movement, the Harlem Defense Council and the Revolutionary Action Movement. The RAM reportedly is masterminded from Cuba by turncoat American Negro Robert F. Williams.

These groups are already spreading the Cuban-Chinese propaganda line that Malcolm was a victim of "white reactionaries." The Reds are trying to make him look like a

martyr, as they did when Congo Premier Patrice Lumumba was murdered.

Jesse Gray, head of the leftist Community Council on Housing, has called for a public outdoor memorial meeting for Malcolm X at 6 p.m. today at 125th St. and Seventh Ave., Harlem's busiest intersection. "It will be peaceful just as long as the police conduct themselves properly," Gray told reporters.

Gray's activities in last summer's Harlem riots, when he called for "100 men ready to die for freedom" and mentioned "guerrilla warfare," were the subject of several investigations.

His Community Council and several other extreme left-wing groups belong to the Federation for Independent Political Action, which blames Malcolm's murder on "reactionary enemies of the Afro-American struggle for human rights."

The stage of the slaying, it said, was set by the U.S. government's "brazen bombing" of North Viet Nam, support of white mercenaries in the Congo and denial of "the right of the Cuban people to self-determination."

This anti-American blast, following the propaganda line set by Havana and Peking, was contained in circulars distributed near Harlem's Unity Funeral Home, where Malcolm's body is reposing. Some 5,000 persons have filed through the undertaking parlor since the murder victim was placed on public view Tuesday night.

FEB 26 1965

UPI AB4N

INSERT MIGHT LEAD MALCOLM X NEW YORK (A35N) AFTER
5TH PMH XXX TO CLOSE.

GRAY, AT A HARLEM STREET RALLY TONIGHT, CALLED FOR A PICKET LINE
FROM ONE END OF 125TH STREET TO THE OTHER TOMORROW TO FORCE THE STORES
TO CLOSE "AS A GESTURE FOR HIS (MALCOLM'S) FORTHRIGHT STRUGGLE
IN THIS COUNTRY."

HE ALSO ACCUSED THE MERCHANTS OF CHEATING NEGROES AND SELLING THEM
HE ALSO ACCUSED THE MERCHANTS OF CHEATING NEGROES AND SELLING THEM
BAD MERCHANDISE AND WATERED LIQUOR.

SOME 40 POLICEMEN STOOD BY AS GRAY SPOKE TO THE ESTIMATED
400 PERSONS BUT NO INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED.

LEAFLETS PASSED OUT AT THE RALLY AND ISSUED BY THE FIPA BLAMED
THE MALCOLM X ASSASSINATION ON "THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE" AND COMPARED
IT TO THE ASSASSINATION IN THE CONGO OF PATRICE LUMUMBA.

"WE KNOW THIS KILLING WAS ORDERED BY THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE,"
THE LEAFLET SAID. "THE ASSASSINATION OF BROTHER MALCOLM X COMES
AS ONE MORE VIOLENT ACT OF TERROR AND INTIMIDATION AGAINST MILITANT
AND UNCOMPROMISING BLACK LEADERS."

GRAY ALSO ATTACKED THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA),
WHICH HE SAID WAS COMPOSED OF "RACISTS, BIGOTS" WHO HAD TRIED TO "KILL
OFF ALL THE BLACK LEADERS." HE ACCUSED THE CIA OF RECRUITING YOUNG
NEGROES "TO INFILTRATE THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE."

GRAY WOUND UP HIS SPEECH BY QUOTING MALCOLM X IN SERVING NOTICE ON
WHITES THAT "WHEN A MAN HITS YOU, YOU HIT HIM BACK."
OTHER SPEAKER CALLED FOR UNITY AMONG NEGROES, AND THE RALLY BROKE
UP SHORTLY AFTER AN HOUR AND A HALF WITH THE PLAYING OF A
RECORDING OF A RECENT SPEECH BY MALCOLM IN DETROIT IN WHICH HE CALLED
FOR A BLACK REVOLUTION.

FOR CIA -- MAIL ROOM LIBRARY

PROGRAM CBS Morning News

STATION WCBS & CBS
Network

DATE February 26, 1965 8:00 A.M.

CITY New York

MAN CHARGED WITH MURDER OF MALCOLM X

DALLAS TOWNSEND: "Good morning. This is Dallas Townsend in New York with the CBS World News Roundup.

"This country's tumultuous racial picture was marked today with a major development in the investigation of the Malcolm X murder.

"One man, Talmage Hayer was arrested immediately after the assassination last Sunday, and charged with homicide, but whether Hayer belonged to the rival Black Muslims has not been definitely established. Early this morning, there was another arrest. Also on a homicide charge and in this case, the affiliation is formally announced. CBS News reporter Tom Glennon has the story."

GLENNON: "They charged with homicide today, a Black Muslim, a man described by police as an enforcer, one who carries out violence on orders from higher up. Butler was out on \$10,000 bail in connection with the shooting of a city Corrections officer who had broken away from the Black Muslims. The arrest was timely, but police are under tremendous pressure, not only to find the killers of Malcolm X, but to halt the threat of further violence in tense Harlem. Hours earlier, Jessie Gray, leader of several rent strikes in the city held a rally at 125th Street and 7th Avenue. He told the small crowd:--"

GRAY: "The same white races they've got to direct the C.I.A. and attempt to infiltrate all the peoples in the world are trying to kill off every black leader in the world -- every black leader."

GLENNON: "It's a moot point whether the arrest of Butler will keep a lid on things. Gray and others have put pressure --"
(VOICES FADED OUT)

FOREIGN BROADCAST
INFORMATION SERVICE

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FEB 28 1965

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DJAKARTA DEMONSTRATION

LONDON REUTERS IN ENGLISH 1157Z 28 FEB 65 E

(TEXT) DJAKARTA--ABOUT 500 INDONESIANS SURGED THROUGH THE GATES OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE IN DJAKARTA THIS AFTERNOON AND STAGED AN HOUR-LONG SINGING AND CHANTING DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. A GROUP OF ABOUT 30 OF THE DEMONSTRATORS WHO WERE ALLOWED INTO THE HOUSE TO SEE AMBASSADOR HOWARD P. JONES POSTED ANTI-AMERICAN PLACARDS IN THE HALLWAY. DEMONSTRATORS OUTSIDE WAVED BANNERS AND NAILED PLACARDS ON TREES.

JONES PROTESTED BY TELEPHONE TO THE INDONESIAN FOREIGN OFFICE AGAINST THE INVASION OF AMERICAN PROPERTY. NO DAMAGE WAS CAUSED, AND POLICE EVENTUALLY DISPERSED THE CROWD OF DEMONSTRATORS, MOSTLY YOUNG MOSLEM STUDENTS.

THE STUDENTS SAID THE DEMONSTRATION WAS OVER THE ASSASSINATION OF AMERICAN NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X, WHO THEY SAID WAS "A MOSLEM MURDERED BY AMERICANS." BUT THE DEMONSTRATORS ALSO ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM AND OF NEOCOLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM. A PETITION PRESENTED BY A DELEGATION TO MR. JONES INCLUDED THESE POINTS AND ALSO URGED THAT MR. JONES GO HOME, THAT THE U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE IN INDONESIA BE CLOSED, AND THAT MEMBERS OF THE PEACE CORPS INAUGURATED BY THE LATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

THE CROWD MILLING ABOUT ON THE LAWN OF THE RESIDENCE SANG A SONG, "CRUSH AMERICA," AND WAVED POSTERS SAYING "YANKEE GO HOME," "AMERICA LEAVE VIETNAM," "JONES--C.I.A. AGENT," AND "MALCOLM, YES--JOHNSON, NO, NO." JONES ACCEPTED THE PETITION AND SAID HE WOULD CONVEY ITS CONTENTS TO HIS GOVERNMENT.

28 FEB 1350Z HWM/AC

Prison
Muslim

Malcolm X

Offer: We'll Fight Klan

OMAHA, Neb., July 1, 1964
(By Combined Wire Services)

OMAHA, Neb., July 1. — Malcolm X, militant leader of the Black Nationalist extremists, declared today he stands ready to send his followers into Mississippi.

"Give the Ku Klux Klan a taste of their own medicine," he said.

"The day for turning the other cheek to these brute beasts is past. Marines aren't so effective these days, anyway."

The former second-in-command of the Black Muslims told a press conference, if the Federal Government cannot provide protection for students involved in the Mississippi project, he can.

SENDS TELEGRAMS

He sent telegrams to the Rev. Martin Luther King and James Foreman, executive secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, to that effect.

"If my offer is accepted, we can send enough men to get results," he declared.

"Today the Ku Klux Klan has taken off its sheets and donned a uniform—a police uniform. Guerrilla tactics are

the only way of letting the underdog equalize a situation.

"Our young people for 10 years have seen their people bitten by police dogs. They've watched as people who look like their own mothers and fathers have been beaten and clubbed by men, not in white sheets, but in police uniforms."

The 39-year-old reformed ex-convict spoke in this city

because he was born here, and had been invited to come from Harlem to address a civil rights forum.

He warned that, if necessary, he would take the plight of the U. S. Negro to the United Nations.

"The United States condemns the colonial powers of European countries, but as the leader of the free world, it is holding back 22-million people who have to beg and crawl to be recognized as human beings."

His fiery talk today followed his formation last Sunday of a "revolutionary" group called the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as chairman.

NAMES LEADERS

As members of the OAAU "braintrust," he named Rev. Albert Cleage, of Detroit, leader of the Michigan "Freedom Now" party which is trying to get on the ballot in that state this year.

Also Gloria Richardson, leader of the "Freedom Now" movement in strife-torn Cambridge, Md.; Jesse Gray, Harlem rent-strike chief; Lawrence Landry, Chicago school boycott leader, and John Lewis, head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

"We are going to build an organization that will be run exclusively by Negroes and answerable only to Negroes," he said. "That means the 'man downtown' (evidently meaning white liberals) won't be able to tell us when to demonstrate or what kind of demonstrations we are allowed to have."

He emphasized that the OAAU will be financed by Negroes, and that there would be a \$2 initiation fee and dues would be \$1 weekly.

DISCUSSES ARMS

On the arming of Negroes, Malcolm X stressed:

"It is the duty of every Afro-American and every Afro-American community throughout this country to protect its people against mass murderers, bombers, lynchers, floggers, brutalizers and exploiters." He added:

"A man with a rifle or club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or club."

The Black Nationalist said that he "sees little chance" of the Johnson administration "enforcing the civil rights law" and that the only progress toward "justice" the Negroes can make will be by

"wrenching their rights" from white and "Negro 'Uncle Tom'" politicians.

VOTER DRIVE

Malcolm X said the OAAU will begin its own voter registration campaign within a month in all Negro communities throughout the country and instruct Negroes to vote only for Negro candidates on Election Day.

"We will tell our people not to be panicked into voting for Johnson if Goldwater gets the Republican nomination, because Johnson's record proves him to be a Southern racist. We'll tell our people to write in the names of Negroes," he said.

He didn't mention any Negroes who might get the write-in votes.

The OAAU plans "really militant" demonstrations in the coming months here, in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia and other areas with large Negro populations, primarily aimed at getting jobs for Negroes, Malcolm X said.

Malcolm said he wasn't worried about the inauspicious start his OAAU got at its founding meeting.

Elijah Muhammad, Black Muslim chief, with whom Malcolm X broke early in the Spring, held a meeting in Harlem the same day as Malcolm X's conference, and outdrew Malcolm X by about 6,000 to 600, according to police estimates.

TESTIMONY BEFORE HILL COMMITTEE

Riot Leader Was Linked to Communist Party in 1960

By TED KNAP

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee four years ago shed interesting new light today on the Harlem riots and Jesse Gray.

Gray is the riot leader who has been calling for "guerilla warfare" against "fascist" police.

On Feb. 3, 1960, Albert Gaillard, then 20, a New York Negro, testified he knew Gray as a Communist Party member and organizer to whom he paid his communist party dues.

THE 'FIFTH'

That same day before the same committee Gray said he is "not now" a Communist Party member but took the Fifth Amendment to questions about previous membership.

Gaillard testified about something else that then seemed unimportant.

Richard Arens, then committee staff director, asked Gaillard if he knew about a picket program devised for young communists by Ben Davis, then New York State Communist Party chairman.

"I think it was in the summer of 1958," Gaillard replied, "when there was an incident up in the Bronx when there was a Negro youth that was shot by cops. And so Jesse Gray and Mr. Davis suggested that . . . we should draw a picket line by the 23d Precinct (station in Harlem).

"They also suggested that we call up the Amsterdam News and tell them that a Negro youth is going to picket the po-

lice people. The reason for that—why they want this picket line to take place—so that it will give the Communist Party an advantage."

Mr. Arens asked: "Did he say anything to you about any of your young communists attacking the police or getting thrown in jail?"

Mr. Gaillard replied: "They had said to us that if the police tried to make us move to refuse to move because it will be a big incident and they said this will be a good political advantage for the Communist Party and for the youth movement itself."

(Gaillard identified the slain youth only as the son of "Mrs. Corley, who lived up in the Bronx." New York Police said they found nobody named Cor-

ley slain about that time, and were checking further in case Mr. Gaillard had the name wrong or Mrs. Corley's son had some other name.)

ADVANTAGE

Taking advantage of such incidents is a common communist tactic, according to Alfred Nittle, committee counsel.

"Communist Party policy is to take a Negro grievance and incite it into violence," Mr. Nittle said. "This is designed to make the Negro believe that violence is the only means of accomplishing his goals."

Communist exploitation of Negro grievances also was charged in the June 4, 1962, testimony of Mrs. Julia C. Brown, Cleveland, a Negro who joined the Communist Party and then in-

formed for the FBI from 1951 to 1960.

"The Communist Party, as a rule, whenever anything happened to the Negro, always have tried to take a front seat in everything; and in order to discredit the NAACP and to barge in on the NAACP's activities," Mrs. Brown said.

The New York World-Telegram and Sun, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, disclosed yesterday that members of the Progressive Labor Movement, a Chinese-line communist splinter group, have been active in the Harlem situation.

They have been distributing a "Wanted for Murder" photo of police Lt. Thomas Gilligan, whose fatal shooting of 15-year-old Negro James Powell eight days ago sparked the violence in Harlem.

ILLEGIB

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PERS: X Malcolm

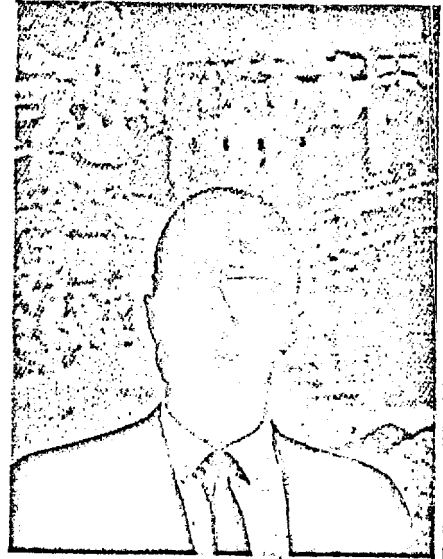
POL 1-02.1 US

ORG 1: Black Muslims

An autobiography

By MALCOLM X

I'M TALKING TO YOU, WHITE MAN



"I dream that one day history will look upon me as one of the voices that helped to save my country from a catastrophe."

The explosive Black Muslim rebel who defies both white and Negro leadership tells a story that swings from violence and degradation to religion and racism.

When my mother was pregnant with me, she told me later, a party of Ku Klux Klan riders came suddenly one night, galloping on their horses around our home in Omaha, Nebr. They stopped with their upraised torches lighting all around the house to prevent any escape by my father. My mother came out of the front door. She defied them that she was alone with her three small children, and that my father was away, preaching, in Milwaukee. The Klansmen shouted threats and warnings at her that we had better get out of Omaha because the good Christian white people were not going to stand for my father's "spreading trouble" among the local "good" Negroes with the "Back To Africa" teachings of Marcus Garvey—at that time, 1925, the most controversial black man on earth.

The Klansmen spurred their horses and galloped about the house, close enough to use their gun butts to shatter all of the glass panes in the windows. Then they were away. My father, the Rev. Earl Little, was enraged when he returned. He decided that they would wait until I was

born—which would be soon—and then the family would move. I am not sure why he made this decision as he was not a frightened Negro, as most then were, and still are today. My father was a big, six-foot-four, very black man. He had only one eye. How he had lost the other one, I never have known. He was from Reynolds, Ga., where he had finished the third or maybe the fourth grade. Among himself and his six brothers he had seen four of them die of violence, three of them in the South, killed by white people, including one of them hung. What my father could not know was that of the three remaining, including himself, only one, my Uncle Jim, would die in bed, of illness. Northern white police were later going to shoot my Uncle Oscar, and my father was finally, too, going to die at white hands.

It has always stayed on my mind that I would die by violence. I have done all that I can to be prepared.

I was my father's seventh child. He had by a previous marriage three sons, Ella, Earl, and Mary, who lived in Boston. In Philadelphia he had met and married my mother. Their first child, my oldest full brother, Wilfred, was born

Malcolm X Sees End of Muslims

CHICAGO, Aug. 29 (AP). — Malcolm X predicts the Black Muslim organization, to which he once belonged, will crumble.

"The organization is held together by coercion, by a Gestapo-type police force within its own ranks," he is quoted as saying in the September issue of Ebony, a Negro monthly magazine.

Malcolm X quit the Black Muslims after differences with sect leader Elijah Muhammad and formed his own Black Nationalist movement.

The magazine says he has mellowed to the point where he no longer hates all whites, although he still doesn't want them in his group.

By the same token, Malcolm says he has no use for non-violent Negroes. "If you show me a non-violent Negro, I'll show you a Negro whose reflexes don't work, one who needs psychiatric care," he stated.

JUN 14 1964

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✓ JORG 1: Black Muslims
 PERS: X, Malcolm
 ITS 7-01 US
 ORG 1: Muslim Mosque, Inc.
 ORG 1: Afro-American
 Freedom Fighters

MALCOLM X SPEAKS:

'Guerrilla Warfare Is Next'

By CLARENCE HUNTER

Star Staff Writer

Malcolm X sat in a Harlem restaurant and spooned up a banana split as he talked about reciprocal dying, guerrilla fighting, revolution and his new Pan African organization.

Malcolm, the former chief spokesman for Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, a black supremacist sect, said he has discarded the unyielding "hate white" philosophy of that group.

His conversation, however, indicated that he still regards the white man as the Negroes' No. 1 enemy and that his future course will be to fight that enemy with every ounce of his energy.

"I reserve the right to do whatever, wherever, whenever and however is necessary to get results," he said. He was not smiling.

No "metamorphosis" resulted from his pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm said. He remains inflamed over the American Negro's condition and thinks only a revolution will correct it.

Freedom for Negroes

"Take a duck, for example," Malcolm said. "Ducks can't lay chicken eggs unless a revolutionary change makes it possible for them to do it. When you have a political system which is not capable of producing freedom for Negroes because it was founded to produce freedom for whites, then you must change it and you don't change it by getting on your knees and singing 'We Shall Overcome' for 100 years."

His political group, separate from his exclusively-black Muslim Mosque, Inc., so that it can attract other black peoples as well as American Negroes, will not advocate, nor will it initiate violence, Malcolm promised.

"The last thing the Negro wants to do is violence, but he must protect himself," Malcolm said. "When you start talking freedom, you have to talk about dying a little, too. Reciprocal dying, I mean. When a black man dies, a white man should die. Suffering is all right and non-violence is all right, too, as long as they are reciprocal."

Malcolm insisted that Negroes "should form vigilante committees, Mau Mau . . . anything to protect themselves." He said "people aren't using



MALCOLM X

sight if they don't see guerrilla warfare as the next step in the civil rights struggle." There are evidences of this in Cambridge, Md., "where Negroes shot a Negro National Guardsman," Malcolm said.

Devil and Double Devil

As a Black Muslim, Malcolm was known to view all whites as "devils." Now after a 12-day visit to the world of Islam, he said he is convinced that "blacks and whites" can solve their problems amiably if they approach them in a spirit of "brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins."

As a result of this tempering, he still speaks of devils, but in this fashion:

"Anyone . . . mind you, I am saying anyone . . . who overtly, intentionally, and knowingly deprives another man of his human right is a devil. I said anyone who does this is a devil. And, if he consciously, knowingly and intentionally deprives the man of knowledge that will enable him to correct his condition, he is a double devil. And this devil has to go."

The Afro-American Freedom Fighters, Malcolm's new political group, is envisioned by him as the vehicle which will exterminate the "devil" that haunts him. It also is the organization Malcolm hopes will

link the American Negro's cause with the independence drives of African nations.

Take Fight Before U. N.

"You have never heard of a Negro organization with the word fighter in it, have you?" Malcolm asked. "The first aim of the AAFF will be to lay the groundwork to get the American Negro's case before the United Nations to make it an international issue. I want to take the whole Negro struggle to the Human Rights Commission of the U. N. and charge the United States with the same thing as South Africa and Portugal are charged with there."

Forces like the Algerian Freedom Fighters and the Mau Mau "were people trying to throw off the yoke of colonialism . . . and this is the task facing the American Negro," Malcolm said.

Malcolm, who became a Black Muslim while he was in prison in 1948, said he has no idea how many followers he will attract to his mosque or Freedom Fighter organization, both headquartered in Harlem.

Having just returned from Algiers, he said he must work to create an organization that will follow the tenets of Islam in "the best way we can in a Western and highly mechanized society."

Sees Mosque Prospering

Malcolm is confident his mosque will prosper. He will attract converts as well as defectors from the Black Muslims, he predicted.

"Many are leaving the Black Muslim movement, especially the militant and young ones who have gone out because of the lack of activity," Malcolm said. "When I entered the Nation of Islam in 1952 in Detroit, there were not over 400 active

Continued

Muslims following Mr. Muhammed and he had 10 mosques. By 1962 . . . now, I don't want to sound like I'm bragging . . . no one could count the number of his followers."

Claiming "there's no way of telling" how many followers he has now, Malcolm said: "I've gotten calls for help in organizing Muslims in other cities—Philadelphia, Washington, Boston and Los Angeles."

He said he wasn't worried about financial support. "We are scratching," is the way he described his money situation. "I don't have any expensive habits. I never have met a true revolutionary who worried about money."

The desire and willingness to cooperate with other civil rights organizations, Malcolm said, is the major difference between his present group and his Black Muslim affiliation.

"In the Black Muslims I belonged to an organization which stressed moral reformation but never took part in politics, the civil rights struggle or the Negro revolt," he recalled. "Now in our Muslim Mosque, we will keep religion in the mosque because we don't want to involve it directly in the struggle. Through our Freedom Fighters, we will work with any organization in any way desirable to attack the political, economic or social evils that affect Negroes."

Pan African Movement

The traditional rights groups such as the NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE shunned Malcolm X when he was a Black Muslim. He expects them to change this posture now. This is one reason he will work hard to create a strong Pan African movement. No Negro leader

could afford to ignore such a group, he said.

The Freedom Fighters, Malcolm emphasized, won't encourage the physical return of Negroes to Africa.

"We will work for a psychological, cultural and social migration to Africa," he said. "The Jews in America have benefited from such a migration to Israel which automatically enhanced their prestige right here in America. If the Negro in this country was to become involved in a similar way, the common bond that would exist between the African and us would automatically put us in a stronger political, economic and social position in this country."

As Malcolm talked and answered questions for about two hours in the 22 Restaurant on 135th street between Fifth and Lenox avenues, about 10 men, apparently his followers, entered and sat in various booths. He greeted each as "brother" with a smile, a quick handshake or a slight nod of his head. Malcolm sported a closely cropped beard he grew while traveling abroad.

Why He Left Black Muslims

Why did he leave the Black Muslims?

Carefully avoiding any derogatory remarks about Mr. Muhammed, Malcolm explained that he was "forced out" of the group by a combination of things that included his personal disillusionment with the enforcement of the sect's moral code.

"As long as I thought the Black Muslims represented moral reformation, I represented them. When I saw differently I left them," said Malcolm, who celebrated his 39th birthday while visiting in Algeria on May 19. He, his wife and three children, live in Queens, not far from the New York World's Fair.

The fact that he had been told that the Black Muslim nation "was not teaching orthodox Islam, and that we had strayed 100 per cent from the path," whetted Malcolm's appetite for understanding "Islam as it really was," Malcolm said.

Quest of Prince Faisal

He contacted Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, deputy director of the Islamic Center of New York and director of the Islamic Federation of the United States and Canada.

Mr. Shawarbi, he said, opened his eyes to brotherhood and tolerance between persons of different races. He gave him a letter of introduction which opened many doors for him during his pilgrimage, Malcolm said.

While in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, Malcolm said, he was a state guest of Prince Faisal, who supplied him with transportation and a religious guide. He visited Mecca and Medina at will, wearing the native clothing and performing all the requirements of the religion.

On the way home, Malcolm visited Beirut, Cairo, Nigeria and Ghana. His speeches, especially in Ghana and Nigeria, attacked America's racial ills. He said he sought the aid of the Africans to get America's racial problems before the United Nations.

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Black Muslim

PERC: Malcolm X

'New' Malcolm X Returns From Africa

By MILT FREUDENHEIM

Miami Herald-Chicago Daily News Wire

NEW YORK — The "new" Malcolm X returned from Mecca to Harlem wearing a new beard but apparently little changed by his African trip and pilgrimage to the Moslem holy city.

He restricted his new-found amigration for whites to members of the Moslem faith.

He suggested that "perhaps if American whites could accept the religion of Islam, perhaps they could get rid of their behavior patterns" toward Negroes.

Malcolm's first remarks to a small crowd of reporters and his followers in the Skyline Ballroom of the Hotel Theresa were directed to Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.).

"Sen. Douglas is very wrong," he said, "If he thinks that our brothers and sisters in Africa are not interested in the prob-

lems of the so-called (American) Negro."

He said the senator expressed this idea on a Chicago broadcast with Malcolm last month before Malcolm's five-week trip abroad.

In Beirut, Lebanon, Cairo, United Arab Republic, and Lagos, Nigeria, he said, he saw newspapers with a picture of "a Negro being beaten in Tennessee."

He hinted at promises of support from African leaders for a campaign to bring American Negro rights problems before the United Nations as a human rights question.

"Minister Malcolm," as he was introduced, portrayed himself as a traveling antidote to the Peace Corps, knocking down the good image of America fostered by the corps, foreign aid money and the U.S. Information



Malcolm X
... before his trip

Agency.

"They just listen to one of us come over there and all that ... goes down the drain," he said. "Many of these countries are learning to hate America," he said, because of its racial practices.

Malcolm, head of the Muslim Mosque Inc., and former member of the Black Muslims headed by Elijah Muhammad, adopted the name El-Haj Malik El-Shabazz after his pilgrimage.

He was a state guest in Saudi Arabia of Crown Prince Faisal. In Nigeria he was dubbed Omowale by the Moslem Students' Society at Ibadan University. The name means "child who has come home."

He also visited Ghana, Morocco and Algeria. In Ghana he spoke to members of Parliament and at the University at Legon.

He disclaimed any knowledge of the Blood Brothers in Harlem, a group police have charged are his followers sworn to kill white persons. His first word of this was in newspaper article in Nigeria, he said.

But he said "white people

... should not be surprised at the birth of almost anything" resulting from Negro frustration, "anything that happens in any black city in the country."

Asked about a reconciliation between him and Christian Negro rights leaders, he said he favors a "United Negro Front" to be formed at a secret meeting of as many leaders as will attend.

This unity, "no matter how loosely knit" was urged on him by African leaders, he said. He also indicated African countries urged him and his followers to stay in the United States.

"Many African countries would welcome the return of any number of our people," he said, "but most of them feel it would show more wisdom if we fight for our rights here, politically and economically."

Malcolm declined to say he now favors integration, although he said he would join a new march on Washington on behalf of passage of the civil rights bill, if one were held.

He missed last summer's Washington march because the Black Muslims opposed it, he said.

He attacked President Johnson for his friendship with Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, leading opponent of the rights bill.

He compared the President's position to someone who "tells me bank robbing is wrong, but his best friend is Jesse James."

Malcolm suggested that American Negroes "become involved in a philosophical, psychological and cultural migration back to Africa" without necessarily leaving the United States.

MAR 12 1964

Org 1 Black Muslims

I Watched the Black Muslims Hold a Secret Meeting

By ALFRED BALK

A few days ago Cassius Marcellus Clay, who already had stunned sports experts by defeating Sonny Liston for the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, attired himself in a red-and-gray striped shirt, gray tweed sport coat, blue trousers, buff-colored shoes, and a buttoned lip, strode sedately into a press conference in Miami, and sprang this additional surprise on sports writers: He hinted at membership in the flamboyant, Negro extremist sect known as the Black Muslims.

The next day in Chicago, Elijah Muhammad Poole, leader of the sect, officially announced the recruitment of Clay, and not long afterward Clay confirmed his convert status.

"That is true," he said, "and I am proud of it. I believe Allah is God. I think this (Black Muslim) doctrine is the true way to save the world, which is on fire with hate."

Normally the social and philosophical musings of a heavyweight boxing champion might be only of passing note, particularly a champion so young, loquacious and unsophisticated as Clay.

But association of a prominent

figure with a movement like the Black Muslims is not easily overlooked, for ever since a TV show, "The Hate That Hate Produced," projected them into national prominence in 1959, the Muslims have been the most controversial, and potentially the most explosive, force in American race relations.

Despite the Muslims' notoriety, however, few Americans really know much about them. Certainly few persons, Negro or white, are prepared to separate facts from the fiction, some of it deliberately fostered, which inevitably has grown about the movement.

Thus, now that the holder of one of the most valuable and prestigious titles in professional sports has professed allegiance to the Muslims, it seems appropriate to examine the tenets of the movement, its estimated strength, and the possible significance of the prize catch it has made in the heavyweight champion of the world.

Probably there is no more dramatic place to begin than at a Black Muslim rally. Because the Muslims are a semi-secret, black supremacist organization whose doctrine emphasizes racial separation,

white persons normally are turned away from all Muslim meetings.

Reporters, however, in recent months at least, have been admitted to their periodic mass rallies, and I gained admittance to one in the Philadelphia Arena not long ago. The experience was, to say the least, unforgettable.

Several hours before the Sunday afternoon meeting was to begin, lean, muscular, judo-trained Muslims known as "The Fruit of Islam" stationed themselves about the exterior of the arena as guards. About noon, cars and charter buses began arriving in a constant stream.

Before entering, everyone was required to line up and be searched, men in one line and women, who were searched by women, in another. Any fancied weapon, even a nail file, was confiscated and checked in a numbered paper bag until departure. A guard even checked inside my shoes and shook the pages of my reporter's notebook.

"What is the reason for this?" I asked.

"We have many enemies," was the guard's cryptic answer.

Inside the arena approximately 5000 men and women, were seated, segregated by sex, as ordered by Poole for all Muslim meetings. Above a plat-

Continued



Elijah Muhammad Poole

form in front stretched a banner, "THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH, MUHAMMAD IS HIS APOSTLE."

The crowd was strangely silent. Suddenly applause erupted from one corner of the hall. Elijah Muhammad Poole, a short, 66-year-old, light-skinned Negro wearing a dark suit, bow tie and black embroidered fez, had arrived. He looked more like a mild-mannered diplomat than a harsh-tongued

orator. Then he was introduced:

"A man who has seen God! The boldest black man in America! The smartest black man in America! The most powerful black man in America!"

When Elijah spoke, his voice was sharp. At times it cracked, and occasionally he was ungrammatical. But there was no misunderstanding his message.

He was, he said, a "messen-

ger of Allah" who personally had spoken with Allah (God), and during this encounter Allah had "revealed many things to me." One was that "Black Man, not White Man, was Original Man."

"They (white man) wasn't taught to do good!" he declared. "They was taught to do evil. . . . They was taught to hate you and me. . . . What have we done for them to want to beat us and kill us ever time they look at us almost? Nothing! Only that's their nature! They was created like that!"

"Yes!" shouted spectators. "Hear him!"

Negroes, Elijah said further, had had a superior civilization in Mecca while "whites still were crawling in the caves of Europe." Then whites had destroyed it. They had kidnaped the blacks and enslaved them. Whites had raped black women, beat black men, stripped away their identities and cultures, forced them to worship a white Jesus, used other "trickknowledge" to make a race which actually is superior to feel inferior. But now blacks must "rise!" Demand "territory of our own" in America! Soon Armageddon would come and colored races would rule once again!

"Get away from the white man!" Elijah admonished. "Get

away from the white man's religion of Christianity! Stand up and fight. . . . Do the same by them (the whites) as they do by you. . . . You have no right to fear white people if you know the truth. We are the victorious people! We will rule!"

"Prophet!" people shouted. "Messenger! Teach us!" They applauded. They shook fists.

Finally, 2½ hours after he had begun, Elijah's speech was over.

Officially the rally was over, and the audience, reverting to the calm with which it had as-

sembled, quickly melted away. But the memory of the "Messenger's" exhortations to hate all whites as "devils" and to prepare for seemingly precipitous action remained, and one could only wonder at its long-term effect.

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